

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
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R 160046Z MAR 77  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2779  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0772

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: US, UN, PFOR, OCON  
SUBJECT: CHARTER REVIEW -- FINAL DAYS AND OVERVIEW

REF: USUN 744

SUMMARY: GENERALLY CLAM SESSION ENDED IN PROCEDURAL WRANGLE OVER WHETHER OR NOT TO ANNEX SOME PAPERS. CONFRONTATION CAUSED BY RIGIDITY ON BOTH SIDES BUT MEXICO AND ALGERIA WIDELY PERCEIVED AS HAVING FORCED A FIGHT WHEN COMPROMISE SOLUTION OBVIOUSLY AVAILABLE. IT REMAINS BE SEEN WHETHER RADICALS WILL BE ABLE USE THIS INCIDENT TO ALTER THE COMITE'S MANDATE OR WHETHER BY TIME GA ROLES AROUND MODERATES WILL BE BACK IN CONTROL.END SUMMARY

1. VOTE TO ANNEX "MEXICAN LIST" CONTAINED UN DOC L/12 AND ITALIAN-SPANISH LIST CONTAINED UN DOC L/15 PM 3/11 CLIMAXED SEVERAL DAYS OF EFFORTS BY MANY DELEGATES TO FIND COMPROMISE SOLUTION. VOTE ON ANNEXATION WAS 30 IN FAVOR, 8 AGAINST (US, UK, FRANCE, BELGIUM, USSR, POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND THE GDR), WITH 5 ABSTENTIONS (PAKISTAN, GHANA, TURKEY, FRG, AND FINLAND).

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2. IN NEGOTIATIONS WHICH TOOK PLACE PM 3/10 LOPEZ BASSOLS (MEXICO) INSITED ON HAVING DOCUMENT ANNEXED AND RESISTED NUMEROUS COMPROMISE EFFORTS UNTIL AMB. YANGO (PHILIPPINES) FINALLY TURNED ON LOPEZ BASSOLS AND DEMANDED HE CEASE SPEAKING ON BEHALF OTHER "CO-SPONSORS" L/12 AND RECONSIDER HIS REFUSAL TO COMPROMISE. WHEN NIGERIAN, INDONESIAN AND YUGOSLAV DELS SUPPORTED YANGO, LOPEZ BASSOLS AGREED TO

THINK ON MATTER.

3. BY AM MARCH 11 LOPEZ BASSOLS HAD ORGANIZED COUNTER ATTACK ON MODERATES WITH ASSISTANCE ALGERIA, TUNISIA AND SPAIN. ALTHOUGH EFFORTS AT COMPROMISE CONTINUED ALL DAY, THEY FOUNDERED ON INTRANSIGENCE OF MEXICO AND OTHER HARDLINERS. MODERATES WERE CLEARLY UNHAPPY AT REFUSAL OF HARDLINERS TO NEGOTIATE AND EXCEPTIONALLY BRUTAL AND CRUDE TACTICS EMPLOYED BY LOPEZ BASSOLS, BOUAYAD-AGHE (ALGERIA) AND DE PINIES (SPAIN) BUT WERE UNWILLING TO DESERT MEXICO IF MATTER PUSHED TO VOTE. COMMENTS MADE TO US DEL BY PHILIPPINES, PAKISTAN, INDONESIA, VENEZUELA, NEW ZEALAND, NIGERIA, KENYA CLEARLY INDICATED THAT THEY RECOGNIZED WE HAD MADE GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO FIND MIDDLE GROUND AND THAT MEXICO, ET. AL., SEEMED TO SEEK CONFRONTATION FOR ITS OWN SAKE. JAPAN PRIVATELY ENCOURAGED US TO OPPOSE ANNEXATION.

4. ALTHOUGH EXTREME POSITIONS OF MEXICO, ET. AL., AND MANNER IN WHICH THEY CONDUCTED THEMSELVES OBSCURED SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE, SOVIETS CONTRIBUTED TO GENERAL BAD HUMOR BY HARSHLY THREATENING TO REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE ANY FURTHER IN ENTIRE EXERCISE. FRENCH IMPLIED SIMILAR THREAT THOUGH MORE SUBTLELY AND LESS OFFENSIVELY. WE AND BRITISH CONFINED OURSELVES TO URGING THE IMPRUDENCE OF FORCING A VOTE IN AN EXERCISE OF THIS NATURE.

5. MOST OF SESSION WAS DEVOTED TO CALM IF NOT DULL READING OF ANALYTIC STUDY WITH DELEGATIONS COMMENTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR EXISTING POSITIONS. PRIOR TO LAST DAYS' FIREWORKS, GENERAL MOOD WAS THAT USEFUL WORK HAD BEEN DONE, MANDATE SHOULD BE RENEWED IN ITS CURRENT FORM AND

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COMITE NEXT YEAR SHOULD BEGIN LISTING OPERATION. IT IMPOSSIBLE TO TELL UNTIL DUST SETTLES EXTENT TO WHICH CLOSING FIREWORKS HAVE ALTERED THAT GENERAL VIEW. WE SUSPECT MEXICANS AND ALGERIANS FORCED SHOWDOWN FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN TO ATTEMPT TO DESTROY EXISTING AMENABLE INCLINATION TO ALLOW COMITE TO CONTINUE IN ITS RELAXED, SLOW, LOW-KEY MANNER UNDER CURRENT MANDATE WITH INCREASING RECOGNITION THAT ENERGIES SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO MATTERS WHICH DID NOT REQUIRE AMENDMENT.

6. MEXICAN INTRODUCTION OF L/12 DOCUMENT DID NOT RELATE TO WORK BEFORE COMITE AND HAD LITTLE RATIONALE OTHER THAN TO COMMENCE PROCESS OF UNDERCUTTING MANDATE. IT UNCLEAR WHETHER UNSUCCESSFUL BATTLE TO PREVENT ANNEXATION OF L/12 ENHANCED THEIR ABILITY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS END OR TAUGHT MODERATES THE DANGERS IN PROCEEDING DOWN THAT ROAD.

7. CONFRONTATION ALSO CAUSED BY INTRANSIGENCE OF SOVIETS AND TO SLIGHTLY LESSER EXTENT FRENCH. WE AND UK CLEARLY PAID A PRICE FOR STICKING WITH OUR HARDER-LINE COLLEAGUES IN THE

INTEREST OF FOUR-POWER UNITY. IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL WHETHER PRICE WAS HIGH ONE. SOME SOVIET MOVEMENT UNDER PRESSURE FROM US AND BRITISH, Milder AND MORE FORTHCOMING STANCE BY OURSELVES AND BRITISH AND CONDUCT OF EXTREMISTS OF OTHER SIDE CLEARLY DIMINISHED THE PRICE. JAPANESE TELL US THAT BITTERNESS ON PART OF REVIEW SUPPORTERS WAS DIRECTED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY AGAINST EACH OTHER WITH LITTLE OR NO IMMEDIATE ANTI-PERMANENT MEMBER FEELING AND WIDESPREAD RECOGNITION THAT US AND UK HAD WORKED HARD TO FIND COMPROMISE. IT WILL NEVERTHELESS CONTINUE TO BE A PROBLEM TO MAINTAIN FOUR-POWER UNITY IN FACE OF EXTREMELY RIGID SOVIET POSITIONS AND TACTICAL INCLINATIONS. AT THIS SESSION DELEGATION DECIDED IN CONSULTATION WITH DEPT THAT IT WOULD BE MORE DAMAGING FOR US AND UK TO SEPARATE OURSELVES FROM USSR AND FRANCE AND THUS ENCOURAGE CHARTER REVISIONISTS TO BELIEVE THEY COULD PICK US OFF ONE BY ONE ON VARIOUS ISSUES. REVISIONISTS WOULD LIKELY PERCEIVE THAT BY PICKING US OFF ONE AT A TIME THEY COULD MAKE PRICE OF BLOCKING CONFIDENTIAL

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INTOLERABLE TO THE ONE OR TWO PERMANENT MEMBERS WHO WOULD BE ISOLATED ON PARTICULAR ISSUES. IT IS QUESTIONABLE HOW MUCH LONGER WE CAN TIE OURSELVES TO SOVIET POSITIONS WITHOUT PAYING HIGHER POLITICAL PRICE FOR OURSELVES AND CONTRIBUTING TO RADICALIZATION OF EXERCISE. EACH TACTICAL ISSUE WILL CONTINUE TO HEED TO BE EXAMINED IN LIGHT OF THESE COUNTERVAILING PRESSURES.

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## Message Attributes

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